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ABSTRACT

This paper advances a conceptualization about the schooling phenomena in order to better understand the schooling process. Schooling is defined as those human interactions occurring in schools in which designated adults are acting to arrange the environment, and mindfully or mindlessly to influence the lives of children in the present and in their becoming adults. To better understand the process, four dilemmas of behavior by a teacher in an English open elementary classroom are analyzed according to G. H. Mead's dialectical social behaviorism theories. This teacher's classroom schooling acts are viewed as manifestations of competing and conflicting ideas in the teacher's mind about the nature of childhood, learning, and social justice. The implication of this theory undermines the basic assumption of performance-based teacher education which emphasizes that it is possible and desirable to determine sets of behavioral criteria to serve as indices of competence. According to this theory, teacher behavior or schooling acts contain not only technical and pedagogical considerations but also conflicting moral and ethical considerations which make purely technical behavioral criteria impossible. (Author/DE)

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The Dilemmas of Schooling: An Application and Interpretation of G. H. Mead's Social Behaviorism

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From the moment we emerge from the womb, we are under the influence of culture, which means simply that how others act to us, we to others and to objects, is affected by attitudes and traditions we have accepted knowingly or unknowingly. We take from our social experiences dispositions to act in certain ways in our workaday, familial, political, and personal lives. These dispositions to act in and on the environment are learned or taken into ourselves from imitation of others, trial and error (successful tries being those responses which have been socially reinforced), and communication with others.

School is just one of the settings in our society where the transmission of the culture occurs, but an important one because here the young spend 5-6 hours, half the waking hours of their lives, for 12 or more years, and here occur the earliest and largest proportion of the child's encounters with the social world outside of the family and the environs of the home. Whether intentioned or not, a child's life in the present and in the future is influenced as a consequence of the fact that in this society (and others) children are required by law to be in a place where they are mindfully or mindlessly influenced by adults who are paid for this work by the state. And it is not only the child's direct encounters with adults in schools which influence him/her; even the influence of the young upon one another is shaped or deeply influenced by the way adults arrange the space and control time.

Our focus in this paper is not on the entire process of "enculturation" or "socialization" which takes place in the publicly created and financed institution we call school, but on the child's direct and indirect encounters with adults which we label "schooling". Our formal definition of <u>schooling</u>

is those human interactions occurring in schools in which designated adults are acting to arrange the environment, and mindfully or mindlessly to influence the lives of children in the present and in their becoming adults. Given our definition, the young person's learning the rules and rituals of courtship and the other things a child may learn in school from peers are considered part of schooling only if some school authority or agent intervenes.[1]

To assert as we have that schooling is a particular sort of social activity is to say that it is also a form of political and economic activity --that is, that political and economic aspects of the culture are transmitted to the young through these institutions. This transmission occurs in two ways. First, teachers have taken into themselves the culture or sets of dispositions to act which include ideas about how individuals should act in political and economic realms and these are transmitted to the young in classrooms with or without the awareness of the teacher. For example, basic attitudes a teacher holds about the equitable distribution of wealth in the society will likely show up their classroom behavior. Second, economic and political forces or power operate directly on individuals and institutions. This power, licit or illicit, open or devious, self-seeking or in the interest of others, exercised by groups and individuals, influences the way teachers, administrators, and students act. The enormous importance of economic forces in political and social life is the major contribution of Marxist thought and can be ignored only at our peril. Schooling is an activity mandated by law; license to practice is granted by the state; administrators are hired and

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[1] This definition of schooling, which we use to stake our our territory has a number of obvious and not so obvious problems. As in any effort to focus on a particular set of phenomena, the line between what is included and excluded is blurred.

fired by a political body. Hence it is no great surprise that what goes on in schools is particularly susceptible to economic and political influences. Thus, schooling acts, even those which purport to be about something else--reading or recess--will likely have political and economic antecedents and consequences for individuals and for the society more generally. A person may remain unaware of the ways in which the economic, political, and social influences affect his and others' past and present behavior, because of stupidity or because ignorance is encouraged or truth suppressed by subtle or not so subtle political pressure. Nevertheless, fundamental economic, political, and social issues--not merely narrowly pedagogic ones--are involved in the schooling process--a truism which seems lost to a great many psychologists who do classroom research. The purpose of this paper is to advance a conceptualization or language for talking about schooling phenomena which will lead to a better understanding of this process. By understanding a social phenomena such as schooling we mean clarifying the links between schooling as we have defined it and the social, political, and economic influences. The problem can be divided into two parts; first, we want to know how the behavior of teachers in classrooms is influenced by economic and political forces and how those aspects of the culture relevant to schooling which have been internalized by the teacher influence their mindful and mindless acts. Second, by understanding we also mean clarifying the links between the behavior of teachers and the dispositions of the young to act in certain ways. We want to know what role the school plays in the transmission of culture relative to other sorts of influences, how the transmission occurs in schooling acts, and what it is that is transmitted.

The undertaking is a formidable one. Though we do not propose to answer the questions we have posed, we are suggesting that research on the nature of

schooling and the formulation of public policy with respect to schools depends upon the availability of a language that makes it possible to achieve that understanding, that is, to link the economic, political, and social antecedents of teacher's schooling behavior to the teacher's patterns of behavior, and to link patterns of behavior to their consequences on the young and the society more generally.

Our work draws heavily upon the ideas of others, most notably on the effort of George H. Mead to show the link between the society and individual thought and action. We came to Mead, not out of some general interest in his ideas but because of a problematic situation--to use one of Mead's concepts --which confronted us. Our problem was our effort to make sense of a pile of participant observational classroom and teacher interview data, collected over a six month period in sixteen[2] primary schools in the Leicester-Leicestershire area in England. We did not go to England to do a study in Meadian or the "symbolic interactionist"[3] tradition. Our initial concern was to make sense of what has been called "informal" or "open" education, because all the accounts of these schools we heard or read indicated that English informal primary schools were better places for children than their

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[2]Most of the data came from intensive study of three schools, approximately 4-6 weeks in each. One, two, or three days were spent in thirteen other schools.

[3]The tradition of symbolic interaction, a term created by Herbert Blumer, one of Mead's students, is frequently taken to be equivalent or refinement of the Meadian social psychological theory. There have been a number of social scientists over the years who have drawn upon Mead, notably Blumer; (see for example, Manis and Meltzer, 1972, Stone and Farberman, 1970, for discussion of the several traditions of symbolic interactionism). We, however, draw a distinction between what has come to be taken as symbolic interactionist position and Mead's social behaviorism. A key difference is that Blumer argues that talk in terms of "factors or forces" is irrelevant. We see this as Blumer's view and not Mead's. We disagree with Blumer that analysis of society in terms of economic, social, and political forces is not a fruitful endeavor and further, that this endeavor is not inconsistant with Mead's social behaviorism.

American counterparts. Many of these reports indicated that informal schooling was wide-spread across England and not confined to the handful of schools run by enthusiastic and committed school or social reformers. If English informal schools were in general far better places for young children and if a major effort at school reform modeled after the more successful English primary schools was to succeed in this country, then it seemed to us to be of vital importance to understand informal schooling. Our goal, then, was to understand what was the nature of English informal schooling using the methodologies of unstructured interview and participant observation.

The literature on Informal schools failed to provide us with this understanding. We will comment briefly on some of this literature.[4] Our purpose is not to review and evaluate these writings, but to help clarify the theoretical and research problems we brought to and formulated during the course of our study.

First, much of the literature which portrays the English informal primary school is aimed at persuading laymen or educators to reform American schools. There is no mention in this literature of such commonplace events as a teacher telling a child who has not shown the inclination to finish his mathematics to "get on with it" or a head giving a "talking to" to some boys who ganged up on another on the way to school. The reader, therefore, is left with the impression that the difficult situations that complicate the lives of most American teachers do not occur in English informal schools. We found the episodes and anecdotes reported in Silberman (1970), Murrow (1971), and EDC pamphlets (1970) did occur more or less as reported, but we also observed and recorded many events which these authors and others had either

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[4] For a longer discussion please see Berlak and Berlak, et al. (1975).

not observed or had not considered sufficiently important to report. Many omissions were instances of teachers exercising control over children. Because most of the writers who have popularized open education are centrally concerned with fomenting changes in American schools, they may have selected those events which they saw as exemplary, unwittingly omitting the more mundane details of school life. And because most North American observers remained in a single school for relatively short periods of time, a few days, a week or two at most, they may have missed events, regularities, and patterns of behavior which are revealed only after an extended immersion in a particular setting.

Much of the research and editorializing literature, including the Plowden Report (1966), explicitly or implicitly suggests that a certain set of ideas/ideals exist in the teachers' (or advisors' or administrators') minds that accounts for what takes place between the teacher and child in school. For example, Barth claims "open" teachers believe that "children have the competence and right to make significant decisions regarding their own learning" (1972, p. 26) implying that this is what accounts for the teachers' behavior. However, he does not provide evidence to support the claim that the teachers hold such ideals or that such ideals, if held, are an important influence on their educational practice (Berlak, Berlak, et al., 1975).

Our approach was to observe and record schooling acts and teachers' comments on why they behaved as they did in particular situations. We asked questions such as, "Why did you suggest that Jack move his seat while he was working on his math?", rather than soliciting abstractions by questions such as "How much choice do you think children should have?". We found that the latter sort of questions elicited vague statements which we were unable to link to patterns of the teacher's observed behavior. Questions such as "Why did you move Jack, etc.?" led to answers of the following kind, "He's

not been doing his maths since he's been sitting near Jim and John," and one of us might go on to comment, "You suggested Jack move and he took your suggestions almost immediately," and the teacher might reply, "I do expect children to take my suggestions. I suppose I was telling the child what I expected and in this situation, I do indeed expect the child to do as I ask." In order to gain additional insight into the teacher's perspective, we believe it essential to take the role of teacher as much as possible, in Denzin's (1970) terms, to become the "acting other." In each of the three schools we assisted the teacher and head, sometimes working with small groups of students, and, in some cases, taking full responsibility as teachers for limited periods of time.

From our preliminary analysis of the data, we concluded that teachers and heads did not hold an internally consistent set of educational commitments which could be linked to their behavior. Whatever lay behind their everyday school behavior, commitment to a particular set of notions, values, or assumptions of the sort contained in the Plowden Report could not account for the events and regularities observed. When asked about specific events, teachers rarely talked abstractly about their motives, educational philosophy, theories of learning, social and political beliefs or ideologies. We found we could best understand the relationship between teachers' thought and action by conceptualizing what they did talk about: concrete problems, their ambivalent feelings about their own actions, their differing explanations of similar classroom events or of patterns of behavior.

We found numerous instances in our data of what we began to label "apparent inconsistencies" in patterns of teacher's behavior; for example, on one occasion a teacher would allow a child to walk away from a task and permit him to work on another, and on other occasions the same teacher would

insist that the same child or another child complete a task to the teacher's satisfaction, whether or not the child was interested, with the unequivocal message to the child that failure to comply would lead to unhappy consequences. These apparent inconsistencies were commonplace in all schools and for all teachers. Some teachers seemed to be themselves disconcerted with some of these variations in their behavior. Others said little or nothing which indicated concern with or awareness of these variations. The interview data, however, indicated that ideas lay behind much of the teachers' behavior and that the ideas were frequently in conflict or tension. For example, a teacher might tell us that she will spend a lot of time with the top group on a given day because that group has not been getting its equal share, but the same teacher at a different time might tell us she hears Sara read twice a day because she believes Sara deserves extra time since she is slower than the others. After examining the data for some period of time the research group came to talk of "dilemmas" or apparent inconsistencies in observed teacher behavior and in the ideas that teachers used in talking about their behavior. The apparent inconsistencies could be explained if we hypothesized that the teacher is drawn to some degree towards both poles of a dilemma. Although we made no effort to limit the number of dilemmas, we discovered that some of the dilemmas or apparent inconsistencies in behavior were much more striking, and more frequently indicated than others. We have identified at this point 14 dilemmas.[5] We discovered that for purposes of

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[5]At this writing, we have not fully analyzed the data and the postulation of the 14 dilemmas should be considered tentative. Although we state each of the dilemmas in terms of dualisms, this should not be interpreted to mean that on theoretical grounds we are bound to two poles; further analysis may lead to a reconceptualization of some of the dilemmas into three or more poles. The current labels for the dilemmas are: childhood unique vs. childhood continuous; developing in children shared norms and

analysis it was possible to see the dilemmas as falling into three overlapping areas, those which dealt with the interrelationship of the child and society, a second set which focused on the teaching-learning process, and the third concerned with issues related to social justice and due process (the allocation of schooling resources and the style and form of teachers' exercise of social control over children).

Our efforts to understand what we ourselves meant by "dilemmas", to understand why teachers acted in particular ways in similar and different situations and to understand the possible or likely consequences of particular acts or consequences to the child and the society, led us to the writings of Glaser and Strauss, Zwanieck, Blumer and others who worked in the "symbolic interactionist" tradition, and to G. H. Mead, G. Miller, another student of Mead's, and I. M. Zeitlin.

Mead's social behaviorism.

We will follow the tradition which precedes every effort to summarize Mead's thought and offer the disclaimer that because of the scope of Mead's philosophy it is impossible to summarize his thought in a few words. What we will do is to discuss what we see as basic tenets in Mead's thought which have guided and clarified our inquiry into the nature of schooling. Mead

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values vs. developing sub-group consciousness; whole child vs. child as student; each child unique vs. children having shared characteristics; equality of opportunity vs. equality of result; self-reliance of the disadvantaged vs. special consideration for those in need; equal protection of law vs. ad hoc application of rules; civil liberties vs. school in loco parentis; learning as social vs. learning as individual; public knowledge vs. personal knowledge; teacher makes learning decisions for children vs. child makes learning decisions; intrinsic motivation vs. extrinsic motivation; molecular vs. holistic learning; teacher set standards for growth and development vs. children set own standards.

posits an internal dialectic within the human mind, preceding observed behavior. This dialectic is human thinking. The dialectic may have taken place in the moment preceding the behavior or in the distant past of an individual's history. Those instances when the dialectic within the individual's mind took place some time ago, and the behavior recurs repeatedly without a dialectic immediately preceding it, Mead's calls habituated behavior. If the dialectic preceding an act has been self-conscious, that is, the individual is increasingly aware of the influences on his/her behavior and the perspectives of others on his behavior, and then considers alternative ways to complete the act using rules of logic and evidence, seeking out the relevant matters related to the anticipated act, then in Mead's terms the act is reflective. According to Mead the actions of adults day in and day out are behaviors to be looked at as falling somewhere in between being habituated acts and reflective.

This dialectic is seen by Mead as a process of adaptation of the human organism to the environment. It is the Darwinian concept of adaptation extended to include an account of the human mind. The dialectic cannot be understood without understanding Mead's concepts of the "I" and the "me". The "I" is a biologic "I", an acting organism, the initiator of solutions to environmental circumstances and problems. The "me" is the capacity of the human being to see one's self as an object. The root idea of the "me" can be grasped from an illustration. A person stops in almost mid-sentence and says to himself, "No, that's not right" indicating that he hears himself as others hear him, (sees, hears himself as an object), then perhaps proceeds to re-formulate what he has said because of this ability to hear himself as another. Critical to understanding Mead's view of the dialectic is that "manifest behavior", that which may be observed by another, is only the

tail end or the culmination of an act. The entire act includes the dialectic or the "minding" process which preceded it.

In Mead's conception, the me is not only the ability to see oneself as an object--as other individuals see him. The others become generalized so the individual (self-consciously or not) has the capacity to see his own behavior in terms of generalized and abstracted norms, values, beliefs, etc. of groups of others. These include subtle social norms like sexual rules and expectations, more explicit norms such as the norms of scholarly work in a specialized area, bodies of knowledge and ways of inquiring. Mead's terms for that part of the me which contains these generalized norms, values, and beliefs imported from his social experience is the "generalized other". Stated differently, the generalized other is the society which is in each of us, the social-political norms, attitudes of mind--those aspects of his culture and cultures of others in terms of which an individual can see his own acts. One sees one's self in relationship, not only to others, but to the world out there, the physical and social world which surrounds him. That is, one comes not only to see one's self in a relationship with others, but in relationship to norms and values which are abstracted from these others.

The dialectic, then, is an individual's adaptive response to a problematic situation by selecting from among alternative possibilities he sees for completing that act. The generalized other enters the individual's dialectic by providing alternative possibilities and evaluations of these possibilities. Why does the individual act at all? This is explained by the biologic "I". the organism acting to come to terms with the environment. The capacity to think provides man with a capacity to come to terms with that environment available to no other animal--the use of mind, which depends upon the ability

of the human organism to see one's self as an object within that environment. There is, in a word, consciousness.

The dialectic between the I and the me--including the generalized other--can be and often is exceedingly complex. It is possible to become self-conscious about this dialectic and to make an effort to make one's behavior a carefully deliberated outcome of a self-conscious dialectic. It is this capacity of the individual to become increasingly self-conscious and deliberated as he comes to terms with the environment which represent the Meadian concept of "growth".[6] An individual comes to see increasingly broader significance of his act--continuously adding the perspectives of others to his view of his own act, seeing his action with respect not only to immediate others but to the generalized other, presumably multiple communities of individuals and their norms, values, and approaches to knowledge within the social world. It is important to recognize the notion of human uniqueness and unpredictability which is contained in Mead's analysis. From this perspective there are numerous possible completions of an act which an individual might select and a totally deterministic science of human behavior is not possible.

Problematic situations arise constantly within human life, particularly in rapidly changing societies and the me's and the generalized other's can be seen as conflicting tendencies to act in such situations. A teacher, for example, in the course of living in the society comes to accept some ideas --likely contradictory ones--about what is the proper relationship between

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[6]Another key concept in Mead's theory is the concept of "self". The self emerges from the dialectic; a developed or authentic self is not a state of mind one reaches, but an ever growing self, one which is constantly coming to terms with changes in the environment and the life circumstances of the individual.

authority and child; what is required for an adult to make it in society; what is necessary for a child to be healthy and happy. These are intermixed with other ideas which arise from the teacher's experiences in becoming a teacher, interactions with professors, with books, and with others who are becoming teachers; to these ideas are added predispositions, attitudes, and ideas which arise from the individual's experience in schools in daily meetings with children, teachers, and principals, and from the particular economic, political, and social constraints on a given schooling situation. More generally, teachers take on or assume some of the social attitudes, values, and beliefs of groups or communities to which they belong or with whom they come in contact.

The diversity of these various experiences and ideas within the generalized other often results in multiple and conflicting beliefs about most schooling acts, within as well as among teachers. ~~Through the Meadian concept of the generalized other is central to our analysis of schooling, our focus on the contradictions and conflicts within an individual's generalized other is a departure from Meadian thought.~~ We view the dilemmas we have identified as conceptualizations of some of the significant, common, conflicting beliefs which have become internalized within the "generalized others" of teachers.

The dialectic which takes place between the I, the me, and the generalized other is the organism's effort to select among competing possibilities for the completion of the act. If an individual is pulled towards both poles of a dilemma, one would expect his behavior to reflect these conflicting tendencies to act. Thus a teacher may give prescribed work in the morning and permit options and wide choices in the afternoon. These represent two possible completions to an act.

Analysis of Four Dilemmas in an English Infant Classroom

In the second part of this paper we will interpret a portion of the participant observation data collected in English schools. The analysis is intended to clarify and illustrate the use of the "dilemma analysis" language of schooling and the theoretical position on which it is based, and to demonstrate the usefulness of the language for conceptualizing schooling, in this case schooling as practiced in one classroom in one of the schools we visited.

We have selected one teacher, Mrs. Martin, who teaches 4½ to 5½ year old children, the "reception" class, in a primary school in the Leicestershire Educational Authority. At a few minutes after one o'clock every afternoon from 13 or 14 raised hands Mrs. Martin selects six or seven children to play in the hospital. On one particular day Sally, who does not have her hand raised is approached by Mrs. Martin. An interchange between teacher and child takes place and Sally joins the other children in the hospital. Some of these children are helped by Mrs. Martin into nurse and doctor costumes which have been hanging in a closet. The nurses, doctors, several patients, and "almoner" enter the play hospital which occupies approximately one fifth of the classroom space. Then, Mrs. Martin turns her attention to the other 20 to 25 children and sets out the options for their afternoon activities. The field notes record two children on cots in the hospital, another child being admitted into "maternity", a third being treated with salves by the doctor. A few minutes later one of the children is taken to 'X-ray', an aluminum painted corrugated box decorated with dials and switches. The child stands behind the box for a moment and is motioned by one of the nurses to return to the cot. The doctor and nurses confer on their diagnoses. Mrs. Martin, circulating among the children in the other activities, enters the hospital

and inquires how the patients are feeling. "And what's wrong with John today?" "Indeed! A burn! And how did you burn yourself? . . . Well, John, what will you do with matches next time?" . . . "Mary, are you going to have a baby girl?" A nurse intercedes, "Mrs. Martin, we don't know that yet. The baby's not been born." Mrs. Martin observes the X-ray scene. "And why did you take your patient to X-ray?" "To make him better." Mrs. Martin nods and walks on to chat with two children at the art easel.

While the hospital play is in progress, the other children are involved in a variety of activities: blocks, sand, water play, or a table where a new art activity is being introduced, provisioned with paper, pipe cleaners, bits of plastic, crepe, etc. The children have volunteered, been cajoled, or invited to participate, and if there is more interest in an activity than the resources allow, Mrs. Martin promises each child who wants access, the opportunity in the near future, "If not today, then certainly tomorrow." At regular intervals she sits with a child or group, shows them how to get started, demonstrates the potential combinations of the material, encourages them to invent their own. She watches and listens to the children from one location and then another; a skirmish at the Lego is ended by the teacher suggesting "there is enough to be shared"; her eyes move periodically to the easels to be certain (she tells us later) that a child does not stay so long as to exclude others who are waiting to paint. At times she offers an unsolicited and enthusiastic comment on a child's work: "Charlene, that is very fine." Or a child will come to her and ask for help or her critical approval--one child wants her to see what he has made with plasticine, another brings a recently completed painting for her appaisal. Mrs. Martin on occasion will make a suggestion: "Good painting, John, but perhaps you would want to use another color." Three o'clock is clean-up time, and at 3:15, Mrs. Martin reads a story until 3:30 when the children prepare to leave.

Mrs. Martin's patterns of behavior and the organization of the environment in the mornings are in many ways quite different than in the afternoons. Mornings are largely devoted to the "basics": maths, reading, and writing. Each child proceeds at his own pace to complete the number of tasks prescribed by Mrs. Martin who has set the amount of work according to her estimate of each child's capacity. Each child has a reading book or set of 'pre-reading' activities such as matching letters to representations of objects (M to a picture of a moon); there is a puzzle to complete and the 'news', the drawing of a picture and, depending upon the child's stage of mastery, the writing or copying of a line or two underneath related to what is depicted. There is a number task, matching and counting for the younger, and simple addition and subtraction for those who have a more developed concept of number. There is an activity intended to help a child learn how to tell time or use currency. After a child finishes these tasks, he may engage in the optional activities--learning games, painting, the Wendy house or the hospital. However, the amount of work has been set so that few children have much time to "choose" during the morning. During this period, the children come to Mrs. Martin who is stationed at her desk for help or to show her their completed work. As she checks each product she marks her record book, indicating that the piece of work has been completed. She may also make some other notations about the child ("needs more work on clocks"). While at her desk, she glances up and listens attentively to proceedings; occasionally she calls over to a child or group of children. For example, after some paints have been overturned she suggests, "Louise and Charles, perhaps you can give Tim a hand in cleaning the paint up." Or on another occasion, "Thomas, if you don't finish your work now, you'll finish it this afternoon." Although she seems to keep abreast of everything occurring in

the classroom, she may allow a group of children to chatter and giggle without intervening. At times she may leave her desk, particularly after most of the children have completed their prescribed tasks, and walk about the room offering suggestions and comments to those who are involved in "choosing" activities or to those who are continuing to work on the prescribed activities. On some days, there is a group lesson where three, four, or five children gather at her initiation to review "sight" vocabulary or to work on simple coding or encoding of letters and sounds.

These patterns of behavior resemble what we observed in many other classrooms in the Primary schools we visited. We did, of course, encounter many variations, but the commonalities were striking. Mrs. Martin's afternoon pattern of provisioning the classroom with a variety of options, and attempting to get each child seriously engaged in an activity of his choice, was quite common, though the patterns might occur throughout the day in some classrooms, or for one or two groups of children within a classroom while a third group was expected to do required academic work. Mrs. Martin's morning pattern of requiring academic work adjusted to the capacity of each child or group of children resembles patterns in virtually all the infant and many of the junior classrooms we visited. Though the pattern might not be a "morning" pattern, and though it might not be immediately visible to the casual observer, we almost always found each child engaged for a considerable period of time during a day or week in required work in the 3 R's.

An observer attempting to generalize about Mrs. Martin's behavior might easily describe some of her morning behavior as inconsistent with her afternoon behavior. In the mornings she tells children what work they must do, directs them to engage in common tasks (primarily the learning of the 3 R's),

does not offer them a choice from among alternatives, has a child rework an activity to some standard. In the afternoons she rarely requires a child to engage in any activity, presents children with options which deal less explicitly or are not apparently related to the business of mastering maths and reading symbols. Even within the morning, Mrs. Martin's behavior might be viewed as inconsistent: she passes over two girls who have spent a half hour whispering, and then chastizes Thomas for staring into space and makes it clear that he must complete a task by noon. In the afternoon, she cajoles Sally into becoming a nurse in the hospital but permits others to select their favorite activity. And though children are allowed to choose, no one is permitted to sit idle for an extended period of time.

How can we understand Mrs. Martin's behavior? Two different questions must be answered. First, how can one explain given patterns of behaviors; second, how can apparent inconsistencies in behavior be accounted for.

Our effort to explain Mrs. Martin's behavior draws upon the work of G. H. Mead's "social behaviorism". Consistent with Mead's position, we have suggested that Mrs. Martin's observed behavior is only the tail end or the observed part of the act. Her manifest behavior represents her effort as the initiator of action to deal with a problematic situation which confronts her in the present or has confronted her at a point in her previous experience. Her "me"--her generalized other--presents or has presented her with several, at times mutually exclusive, possibilities for the completion of the act and the conscious or self-conscious choice is the outcome of the internal dialectic process which is the internal part of the act. The dialectic is the internal conversation between the I and the me which includes the generalized other, the active organism's (Mrs. Martin's) effort to come to terms with a problematic situation in the environment (in this instance dealing with

children in her classroom). Patterns and apparent inconsistencies can be explained in terms of the dialectic between the I and different elements of the me which at some point in the near or distant past preceded her manifest behavior.

We have suggested that in the mind of the teacher are conflicting tendencies to act--differing and sometimes mutually contradictory ideas about how an act is to be completed. Mrs. Martin can pass up the giggling children with no apparent notice (although we know from her words and her previous patterns of behavior she certainly sees those children and what they are doing) or she can chastize them--but she cannot simultaneously both pass them up and stop to chastize. These conflicting tendencies to behave or complete the act arising from the "me" and generalized other we have called "dilemmas". And the dilemmas we have identified represent our effort to talk about the conflicting tendencies to act common within a particular type of social situation--schooling.

We could cast what we have said in terms of "values" and empirical "beliefs" by saying that the dialectic involves conflicts about what is good or right for children and for the society and conflicting explanations about the cause-effect relationships which are involved in schooling acts. Mrs. Martin may be drawn to two ways of responding to a particular problematic situation, for example, whether or not to push Thomas to complete his work, on one hand, to the idea that she should permit a child choice--both because children being children should enjoy the here and now, a value, and because children being children cannot learn unless they have the opportunity to choose, an empirical belief. On the other hand, she may be drawn towards intervening and saying, "get on with it" because she believes children ought be prepared in school for what will face them in the future--in junior school, and adult

life, and because she believes children, being children, will not learn unless forced to do so.

To maintain that Mrs. Martin engaged in a dialectic previous to the completion of an act does not deny that much of Mrs. Martin's behavior might be habituated. She may have consciously, with or without much deliberation, resolved the dialectc at some point in the past. Only when some unusual circumstance or event presents itself might a habitual act be interrupted and brought to consciousness and mind brought into play.

One additional argument completes the sketch of our explanation of Mrs. Martin's behavior. We postulate that when Mrs. Martin pushes children to complete their work, her behavior reflects almost innumerable conflicting beliefs, ideas, concerns, values, and views; within the generalized other these conflicting beliefs, etc. imply contradictory responses or resolutions to a number of dilemmas raised simultaneously by a single problematic situation. Any single classroom behavior is not, then, the outcome of a dialectic on a single dilemma, but the resolution in behavior of multiple dilemmas (or conflicting possibilities for completing an act).[7] In sum, then, each of Mrs. Martin's classroom patterns, including the apparently inconsistent patterns, involves resolutions to a number of dilemmas, some of which are decisions which she may have made self-consciously immediately prior to the completion of the act, others of which she may have made at various times in her teaching career and are now habituated. From the complex patterns of thought and action of teachers we studied we have identified fourteen dilemmas that we hypothesize are common to teachers at least in North America and England in the middle of the twentieth century.

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[7] In addition, two apparently similiar behaviors may reflect the intersections of resolution to different sets of dilemmas.

The remainder of this paper describes four of the dilemmas involved in Mrs. Martin's situation. Focusing on the play hospital example, we shall show how the resolutions to these dilemmas are implicit in the patterns of behavior sketched above.

Childhood Continous vs. Childhood Unique

The dilemma childhood continous vs. childhood unique is a way of representing a cultural tension between two conceptions of childhood, each of which consists of norms, beliefs, standards, and values which influence all individuals within a culture--here we are talking primarily about England and North America. The root meaning of the "childhood unique" orientation is that the early years of life are and should be a qualitatively different or special period of life. From the childhood continous perspective the differences between childhood and adulthood are largely quantitative, children being regarded more as small adults. Though these two ideas of childhood likely influence all of teachers' (and all adults') interactions with children, we focus on their influence in two areas: (1) what are seen as worthwhile schooling activities, which is interrelated with views of children's capacities, and (2) views of what standards, obligations, and responsibilities are appropriate for children in schooling situations.

Associated with each of the conceptions of childhood are differing conceptions of worthwhile schooling activities and differing estimations of the capacities of children. First, teachers are pulled toward two different conceptions of what are "worthwhile" activities. On the one hand, they are drawn to the idea that the skills and knowledge necessary for adulthood should determine the substance and style of schooling, and on the other hand, they are also drawn to the contradictory idea that the determination of what are

worthwhile activities should be made in terms of their view of what is important in the here and now for the development and fulfillment of the child.

Second, each teacher is pulled towards differing views of the capacities of children. The generalized other includes the belief that children have unique capacities--for seeing the world in creative ways, for using various media and their own bodies as modes of creative expression, for experiencing and enjoying the joys and delights of the present without concern for the future--and the belief that children have limitations unique to this period of life--for example, that they are incapable of mastering abstract concepts without direct experience with the concrete. On the other hand, the same teacher holds to the child continuous view that children possess capacities and ways of learning that resemble in substantial ways those of adults.

Two sets of views are therefore relevant to the teacher's resolution to this dilemma: one set involves a basic moral conflict--should the arrangement of children's activities be governed by assumptions about the requirements of adulthood or by one's estimate of the child's requirements in the present?--The other set involves an empirical question: do children have capacities and learning styles which are different in substantial ways from adults, or are children's capacities and approaches to learning on a continuum with those of adults?

Mrs. Martin's decision that a play hospital is a worthwhile activity represent the "childhood unique" resolution to the dilemma. Her justification for this activity was that children of this age are concerned and fascinated by medicine and hospitals; her use of authentic costumes, and real salves and bandages is responsive to beliefs about what kind of experiences "little folk" enjoy. She did not justify the activity in terms

of the need for adults to have knowledge of hospitals. Likewise, her afternoon pattern of allowing children to choose reflects not a view that children must learn to make choices but a view that if children choose they will enjoy what they do. However, her emphasis during the mornings on activities designed to teach numbers and reading was clearly influenced by the "continuous" value that school should prepare children for adulthood.

The play hospital also reflects her view that children learn in different ways than do adults: the use of dramatic play and discussion of questions which arise from that play take precedance over more abstract modes such as "telling" children or reading to them about hospitals. The use of manipulative devices in math likewise reflects her belief that young children's modes of learning are different from adults' and require concrete manipulative experiences. The use of dramatic play also reflects the view that, unlike older children and adults, young children have the unique capacity for spontaneous role play. The decision to take advantage of such unique capacities is, of course, a resolution to the conflicting valuations of worthwhile activities.

Differing conceptions of obligations and privileges are also associated with the two views of childhood. The term obligations implies an authoritative --not merely a power--relationship governed by law or tradition between leaders and the led; in the case of the primary school, between teacher and child. The differences in conception of obligations and responsibilities parallel the previous discussion: from the continuous view, obligations, and responsibilities resemble those of the adult and from the unique perspective, children have responsibilities and obligations that are qualitatively different from those of the teacher. From the unique view, since status roles are distinct, authority is less frequently questioned. Although the

child is held accountable for his actions, the moral opprobrium associated with misbehavior is tempered by an attitude that children are not expected to live up to adult norms and rules. Sanctions are less severe and used primarily to help a child learn and develop. From the continuous perspective, on the other hand, because the authority relationship between adult and child is somewhat more ambiguous, i.e. there are more grey areas, and because the moral opprobrium associated with misbehavior resembles that in the adult world, the probability of direct confrontation between child and authority is greater, and sanctions are likely to be more severe.

Here again Mrs. Martin's behavior reflects the unique more strongly than the continuous orientation. Many of the activities in the classroom were potentially disruptive, but Mrs. Martin expected children to be learning to follow the "rules" of cleaning up carefully, using the salves and bandages in the hospital responsibly, hanging up the uniforms, etc. She explicitly stated her belief that children must be taught good manners and indicated that she places a high priority on her role of teaching children how to behave properly. The field notes contain frequent reminders by Mrs. Martin to "tidy up" the hospital but no severe sanctions for failing to have done so and no statements of despair such as "How many time must I remind you?" She did not expect the children to have already learned correct behavior since they are children, but she expected them to conform when reminded, since she is the adult.

Thus, the play hospital activity reflects the teacher's resolution to conflicting claims concerning views of childhood. In this case, the claims of one orientation, the view of childhood as unique, seems to predominate in her hospital-related behavior, and in many of her other behaviors as well.

Extrinsic vs. Intrinsic Motivation.

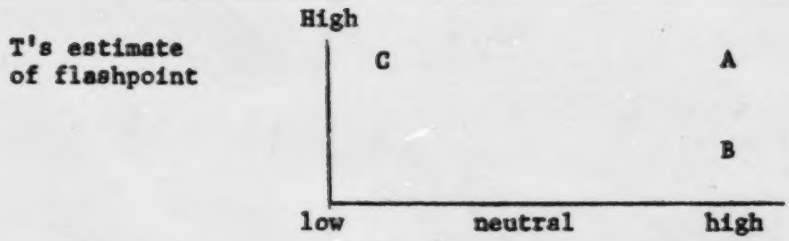
Another set of beliefs implicit in Mrs. Martin's patterns of behavior are beliefs about motivation. The pull of this dilemma is that on the one hand teachers are drawn to the idea that the impetus for learning comes and should come primarily from within the learner, and on the other hand to the idea that action by the teacher or others in some form is required for learning to be initiated and sustained by a child.

Our analysis suggests three categories of ideas associated with this dilemma. First, teachers are pulled towards two different estimates of whether a given sort of knowledge is intrinsically interesting to children. For example, a teacher may believe that experimenting with chemicals is "intrinsically" interesting to children and also have incorporated the idea that some learnings are not, e.g., diagraming a sentence. Second, teachers are drawn towards two different estimations of children's capacities to be internally or self-motivated. For example, a teacher may accept the idea that a group of children or a particular child is internally motivated to read and also believe that another child or group is not and will not become so motivated. Thus, teachers have differing views about the capacity of children to initiate and sustain involvement in learning without outside push and differing views about the intrinsic motivating capacity of subjects or activities. The mix of the two we call the "flashpoint", which is the teacher's subjective estimate at any given point in time of how much push is required to get a given child to want to learn in a given area. (Little push seen as necessary in a given area for a particular child indicates a low flashpoint.) Teachers, of course, have differing estimates of the "flashpoint" for any child or group of children in a given area or learning activity. This estimate is only the teacher's best guess as to what is empirically correct and as with any empirical judgment, the teacher may be mistaken.

Third, teachers are pulled towards opposing valuations of the importance of a child being intrinsically motivated. For example, a teacher may feel that it is relatively unimportant that children be intrinsically motivated to read, but important that they be intrinsically motivated to learn multiplication tables. Thus, the teacher makes a value judgment (it is, or is not, important that children be intrinsically motivated to read); and an empirical judgment about where the flashpoint is for a given child in a given subject (Jack is, or is not, easily motivated to read).

These two sets of meanings relevant to this dilemma--one empirical and the other valuational--may be represented on a two dimensional space, and we are suggesting that a teacher's views which can be plotted in that space influence his pattern of behavior in motivating children. Figure I is a representation of the conflicting tendencies to act, the X axis representing the teacher's valuation of a child being intrinsically motivated in a given area, and the Y axis representing the teacher's estimate of the flashpoint in that area for a given child. Point "A" in the space would be grounded in a behavioral pattern of richly "provisioning" the environment; that is, the teacher arranging the environment with stimulating materials and doing a number of other things to spark interest. "B" represents the pattern where there is no use of extrinsic motivation (e.g. sweeties, threats), and few provisions for stimulating a child's interests, since these are seen as unnecessary. Point "C" represents the pattern of the popular image of the traditional teacher where there is, like pattern B, little effort expended by the teacher to spark interest, although, in contrast to "B", there is much use of extrinsic motivation.

Figure I



Since teachers may see intrinsic motivation as important in one activity but not in another, and estimate that one child is intrinsically motivated but another is not for a given activity, a teacher's beliefs could be charted for each child in each subject; however, it seems likely that further analysis will disclose characteristic patterns of belief and behavior in different schooling situations.

Mrs. Martin's behavior is responsive to both pulls of this dilemma. Her decision to introduce the play hospital and her responses to children as they engage in the hospital play indicate that in this activity she is responding to a high valuation of intrinsic motivation. She has chosen the activity in contrast to other afternoon options such as animal or plant study because she believes interest which comes from the children is important here. Her high valuation must be seen in contrast to a lower evaluation of intrinsic motivation in learning to read--she requires that learning to read begin in this classroom; and mastery of some skills is required of every child whether or not the child sees the skill at a given time as related to something he is interested in or whether or not the child is interested in completing the task. Thus, though Mrs. Martin's decision to have the play hospital reflects high valuation of intrinsic motivation, the conflicting pull is reflected in the "requirements" of the morning organization.

She is, however, pulled toward the extrinsic motivation belief that children have widely differing flashpoints. Mrs. Martin's decision to richly provision the hospital environment reflects her estimation that some children will not be imaginative or self-motivated enough to sustain involvement over time in that activity without rearrangement of the externals to stimulate interest. Although we did not inquire specifically about her reasons for taking such pains to simulate a hospital environment, she doubtlessly would have said that she introduced each new element--"maternity" and "X-ray"--to create or sustain interest, particularly for some children who are less imaginative and less internally motivated, i.e., who have a high flashpoint in this sort of dramatic play. Her list of morning requirements and her use of "sweeties", praise, and mild sanctions to assure their completion, reflect the empirical belief that no child will be intrinsically motivated to complete work in each of the required areas--that no child has a low flashpoint for all activities--as well as, a lower valuation of intrinsic motivation in the "basics".

Holistic vs. Molecular Learning

Another set of conflicting views implicit in Mrs. Martin's classroom behavior is represented in the dilemma learning is holistic vs. learning is molecular. Involved here are differing views about how people learn and retain what they have learned. The two positions continue to be debated by psychologists and have a long history in Western social thought, and they are also related to teachers' and lay citizens' views of what is the best way of teaching.

The root idea of the holistic position is that learning occurs best when the individual is able to grasp, however vaguely or imprecisely, a whole idea

or skill and integrate parts or component skills or ideas into a meaningful context. From this point of view, a child learns best when the teacher organizes learning so that the student can almost immediately and perhaps intuitively, "make sense" of the idea or skill being learned by relating it to something he already knows or wants to know.

The root idea of the molecular position is that learning is the accumulation of smaller pieces, each of which when known or mastered will contribute to an adequate grasp of the whole; to come to know the whole is to accumulate knowledge of its parts. Thus, a child learns when the teacher breaks down what is to be learned into parts which will eventually "add up" to the skill or knowledge and introduces the parts sequentially. There is no concern at any given moment that every segment be seen as "meaningful", or as related to a whole. The holistic emphasis in learning to read stresses contextual understanding rather than skill development; the molecular emphasis focuses more heavily on decoding and encoding words outside of their context. The holistic approach in teaching a dance would be to give the learner a "feel" for the whole dance, with the assumption that that feel is crucial if the precision is to be developed, while a molecular approach would emphasize more heavily the parts, perhaps laying stress on proficient mastery of a set of skills.

The creation of the play hospital represents Mrs. Martin's belief in a "holistic" approach to learning. Mrs. Martin did not organize her teaching about hospitals by introducing bits of information arranged to add up to some final knowledge. Instead, children are expected to get a "feel" for any of a number of aspects of hospital activity: X-ray, maternity, etc. without mastery of any particular set of concepts. Mrs. Martin's progressive additions to the hospital are expected to build upon and be integrated into

children's prior knowledge of and "feel" for hospitals. Thus, the maternity section was set up after one child discussed the imminant birth of a sibling and X-ray was suggested by a child who had broken his leg. She did not follow a curriculum guide specifying a logically ordered sequence and we saw only a few very brief attempts to teach a common hospital language to all the children. Instead, she introduced different concepts to different children, apparently on the basis of the assumption that only presentation of vocabulary that is meaningful to a particular child will result in learning, and inferences about which concepts could be integrated meaningfully.

The organization of the afternoon reflected a holistic view of learning. As Mrs. Martin circulated among children working on junk construction, she might introduce and help a child master a skill needed in order to measure a deck for a ship he was building. No particular component skills were presented outside of the context of a holistic activity. A variety of activities were introduced in the afternoon with no foreknowledge by the teacher about what would be learned from them. The assumption seemed to be that the children will learn whatever is meaningful to them as they engage in an activity.

Mrs. Martin's behavior in the morning reflects responsiveness to both pulls of the dilemma. "News" writing, the primary vehicle for learning to write and spell, is a holistic activity; Phonetic analysis is not introduced until a child has written "news" daily for several months, and even then stress is placed on writing news, rather than on the learning of letter sounds. Though now and then Mrs. Martin asks a particular child to make a row of "y's", this is usually done when she notes a misshapen "y" in a line of news the child has written. However, each child is expected to engage in some molecular writing readiness

activities such as tracing and copying shapes and letters. Thus, her pattern of teaching writing is responsive to both the molecular and holistic orientations, though she seems to introduce children to writing using an approach which reflects the holistic belief, and seems to be more responsive to that pull of the dilemma.

Maths and reading also combine both molecular and holistic approaches. Mrs. Martin described math programs in which concepts are introduced as the need for them arises, as "hit or miss", and claimed "we have the best of both worlds." By this she meant that she combines the more holistic approach to math, exemplified by learning to measure when building a ship, with a molecular approach, the introduction of a set of skills which the children learn in sequence (including telling time, recognizing currency, basic number facts) whether or not they can relate the skills to their meaning or usefulness. However, care is taken to make it highly probable that the meaning of subtraction, for example, is grasped before the subtraction tables are taught. Children are presented with many experiences which demonstrate such meanings before the sequence of molecular components is introduced. Similiarly with reading: children learn to read several primers and have much experience with reading their own "news" before phonetic analysis is introduced. In sum, this teacher appeared drawn towards both beliefs about learning, but more responsive to the holistic view than many American teachers.

Public vs. Personal Knowledge

The dilemma public vs. personal knowledge captures one of the central arguments to arise from the North American interpretation of the English Primary Schools. Though the two tendencies to act are both talked about in

our society in terms of gaining an inner awareness--or self-realization.[8] The personal knowledge pull is towards the belief that the growth of an individual proceeds best if the individual learns what he wants to learn. The bodies of accumulated cultural knowledge are not seen as being of much value to an individual because they are considered to be of little relevance to his personal growth. When Barth states that open education teachers believe that "there is no minimum body of knowledge which is essential for everyone to acquire" (1972, p. 46), he is arguing that open education teachers are drawn towards the "personal knowledge" side of the dilemma.

The opposing pull of this dilemma is towards the belief that there are important bodies of knowledge, both content and skills, which characterize a cultural heritage, that these bodies of knowledge are in fact essential for the development of one's full human potential and that therefore it is necessary for these to be transmitted to the younger generation. Those feeling the pull towards public knowledge argue for the values reaped from awareness of the major intellectual traditions in the arts, sciences, and humanities.

Within the public knowledge position are differences among teachers regarding which aspects of the culture should be transmitted, whether content or skills are central, should be given greater or lesser emphasis, and so on. The common assumption of the public knowledge position is that some forms of knowing are important to and should be shared by a community. The difference is over which bodies of knowledge are of most worth.

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[8]There are traditions in philosophy and social science which see this as an unnecessary dualism. However, we are maintaining that the tensions are manifest in teachers' thought and action. Indeed, Dewey's and Mead's argument that this is unnecessary dualism is an acknowledgement that this tension does exist within the Western tradition.

Mrs. Martin's behavior reflects the claims of both horns of the dilemma. Her morning is structured to transmit what she takes to be the common cultural heritage for which she as teacher of four and five year olds is responsible, primarily in the areas of reading, writing, and arithmetic. There is no doubt that she considers learning in these areas to be essential for each child, an inference strengthened by the great concern she shows to teach the "3R's" even to two very "backward" boys. Her afternoon behavior reflects more generally the personal knowledge emphasis--that children should engage in whatever activities satisfy their concerns, and that all children need not be taught a common body of knowledge. Indeed, very little formal knowledge is conveyed to the children as a group in the afternoon. When the hospital project is complete there will be vast differences in the numbers and kinds of concepts the children will have been exposed to, a fact which she recognizes and accepts.

It is, however, a distortion to characterize Mrs. Martin's behavior in the morning as reflecting a belief in public knowledge and her behavior in the afternoon as reflecting a belief in personal knowledge. There are instances within the morning that reflect the pull of the personal knowledge position. At times she does not insist that a child finish his phonics or number work; common public knowledge is not seen as so essential that she will force a child to finish at the cost of frustration or anxiety to the child. The complex pattern of critical feedback is another indicator of her resolutions of this dilemma. She sets standards of public knowledge in mornings and afternoons in some areas, but not in others. She may not critique a mediocre painting or the child's limited understanding of X-ray but will not overlook a child's inability to match the appropriate number of objects to a number.

Patterns of Behavior as Resolutions to Multiple Dilemmas

We have posed two problems for consideration: First, how to explain patterns or regularities of behavior of a teacher or group of teachers. We have described several of Mrs. Martin's patterns: In the morning she requires all children to engage in a predetermined set of activities, primarily related to the development of the "Three R's". She praises and corrects freely at this time. Those who complete their "work" may then "choose". In the afternoons she asks children to choose their activities from options in the areas of the arts, dramatic play, blocks, Lego, etc. We described in particular the care she takes to arrange the play hospital, and how she deals with the children who engage in this activity.

A second problem is to explain or conceptualize apparently inconsistent, alternating patterns of behavior, i.e., patterned differences and exceptions to regularities in behavior, for example, differences between Mrs. Martin's morning and afternoon patterns, or, though the dominant pattern is one of requiring work in the "Three R's" in the morning, one child is allowed to chat, and another is issued an ultimation; in the afternoon, though choice is the rule, some children are cajoled into activities they would not have chosen.

Following Mead we have argued that a behavior or pattern of behavior can be viewed as the observable part of an act, a resolution to conflicting tendencies to act, to dilemmas which arise from conflicting views, beliefs, and norms within the generalized other, and we have shown that a behavior apparently inconsistent with a pattern can be viewed as a differing resolution to the same dilemma; for example, that Mrs. Martin's tendency to let children play in the hospital may be seen as a response to a belief in encouraging children to engage in activities for which children have unique potential,

yet her patterned exceptions of requiring some children to finish their work prior to engaging in such activities is responsive to the "childhood continuous" claim of preparing children for adulthood. We have suggested that a series of dilemmas may be viewed as a set of analytical constructions which may be used to explain or account for a given pattern, the outcome of a dialectic between the I and alternative possibilities for completing an act. And finally we have looked at several patterns of resolutions to contradictory tendencies to act or dilemmas: personal vs. public knowledge, intrinsic vs. extrinsic motivation, childhood unique vs. childhood continuous, and holistic learning vs. molecular learning.[9]

It is clear, however, that a pattern of behavior--the observable part of an act--is the outcome, not of a single dialectic between two tendencies to act or a resolution to a single dilemma, but is the response to an internal dialectic among several dilemmas. Mrs. Martin's dominant pattern of behavior in the morning is the manifestation of a particular set of resolutions to a number of dilemmas; the patterned exceptions--asking Sally to join the hospital activity, and choosing for other children at various times in the afternoon activities--are a different set of resolutions to the dilemmas.

Any pattern of behavior, then, can be seen as an individual intersection of a number of dilemmas. For purposes of illustration we will consider three dilemmas and how Mrs. Martin's behavioral patterns can be viewed as an intersection of the three resolutions. Mrs. Martin's morning pattern of requiring children to do the sequence of activities in the "Three R's" reflects the pulls of childhood continuous, extrinsic motivation, and public knowledge simultaneously.

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[9]Other dilemmas central to the analysis of the patterns we have described but beyond the scope of this paper are: children unique vs. children have shared characteristics, learning as social vs. learning as individual.

Her afternoon pattern of providing the play hospital activity reflects the pulls of childhood unique, personal knowledge, and an orientation closer to intrinsic motivation than to extrinsic since in general she depends upon the children's internal interest. Yet her concern to provision in order to spark the flashpoint places her somewhere between the two poles on this dilemma. A third pattern, that of responding to questions and developing aspects of the hospital such as X-ray or maternity (rather than perhaps the laboratory or operating room) centrally reflects a resolution to the dilemma learning as holistic vs. learning as molecular as well as the other three dilemmas.

Three points are in order. First, this account is only a crude analysis of the process. It says only that the behavior may be viewed as the outcome of a dialectic of multiple tendencies to act but it says little about the nature of the dialectic, i.e., how the complex minding process proceeds or how situational or rule governed it maybe. Second, we suggest that any single pattern may be the outcome of not three but n dilemmas--tentatively we have identified 14 but do not assume all 14 are involved in every manifest pattern. Commonalities among patterns of teachers may be viewed as clustering around a point--that is, though it is unlikely that any teacher would be located at the same point in multi-dimensional space as another, the similarities may be viewed as factors or clusters and the clusters may be used to define differences and similarities in populations of teachers, an obviously complex but we think powerful way of talking about teacher style, differences between open and non-open teaching and so on. Our analysis of the motivation dilemma demonstrates how it is possible to examine with some precision the minding process involved in an observed pattern of behavior by making inferences from observed teacher behavior and teacher and child interview data.

Implications

We have attempted to show that an understanding of schooling requires a conception or language which can be used to formulate research questions which clarify how the culture and the economic, political, and social forces of the society enter into the internal dialectic of teachers and are linked to their manifest behavior. To complete an understanding of schooling requires clarification of the link between teachers' manifest behavior and the formation of the values, beliefs, ideas (or the generalized others) of growing children which enters their internal dialectic and which is related to their efforts to deal with problematic situations which confront them as children and adults. Deliberate efforts to influence schooling (through or by legislation, school boards, courts, school bureaucrats, community groups, national curriculum projects, training programs, etc.) are based on assumptions about which effects of schools are desirable and on assumptions about these links between the culture, the thought and behavior of teachers, and the thought and behavior of children. In this paper we have examined one of these links: that between the conflicting tendencies to act of a teacher, Mrs. Martin, and her behavior. Of the fourteen conflicting tendencies to act or dilemmas we have chosen four, attempting to show how these are involved in several characteristic patterns of her behavior. But we have not shown how these behavioral patterns are related to the growth of children--that is, how the children's beliefs or generalized others have been influenced by Mrs. Martin's acts and the relationship of the children's beliefs to their present and future behavior.

If there are a set of persistent and common dilemmas which confront teachers as they go about the difficult task of teaching the young, then it may be possible to compare teachers on the basis of their patterns of resolution

to the dilemmas. English infant teachers may be compared with one another or with American elementary teachers, the more to the less experienced and to novices. Such comparisons, while interesting, do not, however, bear directly on a basic question which is often lost in pedagogical research: what is good teaching and how is it encouraged? Answers to this question require an understanding of the links between a teacher's behavior and children's growth.

We will briefly trace through the implications of our position for one of the currently popular efforts to define and promote good teaching. The basic assumption underlying performance based teacher education is that it is possible and desirable to determine sets of behavioral criteria which are to serve as indices of competence. The problems with the assumption that one can specify behaviors which signal competence follow from the above argument. First, as we have documented, any single set of schooling behaviors has implicit a complex of empirical assumptions, many of which are related to basic controversies within psychology or delve into areas where the experts are themselves at loggerheads. How do we determine behavioral criteria for teaching reading competently, for example, when we do not at this time have the knowledge to answer such questions as whether the individual child who has reading difficulties and possesses such and such personal characteristics, will be helped, or have her reading problems compounded by following recommendations of Bereiter & Engelman (1966) or James Moffet (1973). How do we determine behavioral criteria for competent teaching, when as eminent a psychologist as D. O. Hebb asserts, "No psychologists, of course, agrees with any other psychologist, but they all have strong views about learning, reinforcement and John B. Watson." (Hebb, 1974, p. 73)

Second, it hardly seems necessary to point out that the problem of determining competence is not only an empirical issue but rests also on some explicit or implicit moral suppositions of what schooling should be. As we have documented, many schooling behaviors which appear to reflect only empirical assumptions, turn out to contain contending moral assumptions. As our data suggests, underlying many of even the most mundane schooling acts are moral commitments which may be at war with one another not only in the society but within society's members, including teachers. How can one claim a specific item of behavior signifies competence when that behavior may reflect one of two or more positions on a disputed moral question? An example is the dispute about the use of behavior modification. To some the issue is not au fond whether behavior modification works; rather it is whether modifying behavior without the consent of those who are being modified is morally defensible. A second example is the dispute over grouping. The belief that a competent teacher does not group children on the basis of standardized test scores (let alone I.Q. scores) regardless of whether or not reading scores improve, for some may rest on a consideration of the social values which are transmitted by such groupings and the belief that the transmission of certain values is more important than the improvement of reading scores.

Our point is that the effort to specify competency in terms of behaviors raises basic moral issues, not merely technical or pedagogical questions. Schooling acts are not morally neutral. When governmental bureaucrats or professors of education set out lists of behaviors, they are in the business of making moral choices on which there are justifiable differences, and we seriously question the legitimacy of imposing such moral choices upon teachers without their consent. In all the lists we have seen, multiple moral questions are often implicit in a single specification, making it an

almost impossible intellectual feat to figure out the moral values of the specifiers. At the very least, teachers and parents have the right to know what educational values the listmakers profess.

Because so little is known about what dilemmas teachers face, what are the complex relationships between the empirical and moral choices, or the array of possible resolutions to the dilemmas, we believe that efforts to prescribe patterns of resolution (in behavior or by credos) are unwarranted. We do not recommend the abandonment of efforts to improve teaching; rather in-service and pre-service programs should perhaps be aimed at helping teachers recognize the dilemmas which confront them and the beliefs and values implicit in their own resolutions, assisting them in the examination of contending moral and empirical claims and encouraging a thoughtful reconsideration of their resolutions. The intent should, we think, be to educate teachers so that they are more capable of being reflective and minded in what they do, to or with children. From this perspective, teachers are viewed not as technicians who can perform tasks prescribed by others but as autonomous human beings who are entrusted with bringing to bear their judgment and intelligence on the complex problems of educating the young.

Implications for research and development are numerous and require a separate discussion. We shall make one general point. Those classrooms and curriculum researchers who have attempted to study the behaviors that take place within classrooms ignore the obvious fact that any given behavior may have quite different meanings in different situations to the actors--teacher and child. "Let's decide what you want to do" may in a classroom interaction analysis scheme be scored as and contribute to the calculation of an index of "indirect teaching", but its meanings in the context of a particular situation

may be multiple--among other things it could be a signal to a child that he had better get some work done or else he is in trouble. Some of the most troublesome research questions concern the effects of schooling on the individuals' history and on the polity. Answering these questions requires a greater understanding than we presently have of the schooling process. In our view, any effort to understand this process is incomplete without a conceptualization of the complex relationships of the beliefs and behaviors of teachers which we have, in this paper, begun to explore.

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